

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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O 171825Z APR 78
FM USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT
TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
GABORONE IMMEDIATE
LAGOS IMMEDIATE
MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
LONDON IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBSSSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
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S E C R E T SECTO 4093

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: REPRESENTATION OF THE FRONT LINE AND NIGERIA
IN DAR ES SALAAM CONFERENCE

1. ALTHOUGH NO ONE EXPECTED THE PATRIOTI FRONT AT DAR TO
ACCEPT THE ESSENTIALS OF OUR PROPOSALS OR EVEN TO MOVE
TOWARDS THEM WITHOUT CONSIDERABLE BARGAINING, WE NEVERTHELESS
WERE DISAPPOINTED THERE WAS NOT MORE MOVEMENT IN THEIR
POSITION DURING THE TALKS. THERE WAS SOME PROGRESS--
E.G. IN THE UN FORCES AND IN CONTINGENT MOVEMENT ON THE
POWERS OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. BUT FROM THE PRESENTATION
OF THEIR OPENING PROPOSALS, IT WAS CLEAR WE HAD A LONG WAY
TO GO. IN PART, THEY MAY HAVE INITIALLY ADOPTED A DELIBERATE
HARD LINE ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES IN ORDER TO PERMIT THEM TO COMPROMISE
LATER IN THE MEETING AND STILL RETAIN THEIR POSITION MORE

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OR LESS INTACT.
2. BUT THERE WAS SOME BACKSLIDING TOO, AND A LITTLE
DELIBERATE PROVOCATION. THE PF LEADERS' SUDDEN REFUSAL
SATURDAY NIGHT TO HONOR THEIR EARLIER UNDERTAKING TO
ATTEND AN "ALL PARTIES MEETING" AND INSISTENCE ON DE-
SCRIBING IT AS A MEETING TO DISCUSS CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES
WAS A STEP BACKWARDS FROM ASSURANCES GIVEN TO THE

SECRETARY AND YOUNG IN LAGOS, GRAHAM AND LOW IN MAPUTO, AND THE SECRETARY, DR. OWEN AND YOUNG THE SAME DAY IN DAR. THEY CLEARLY INTENDED TO CHANGE THE NATURE OF THE CONFERENCE FROM ONE DESIGNED TO EXPLORE COMMON GROUND BETWEEN THE SALISBURY GROUP AND THE PF TO MALTA III OR EVEN A MEETING UNDER THE PF MALTA PROPOSAL. YET, HOWEVER THEY DESCRIBE IT, THE FACT REMAINS THEY HAVE AGREED TO ATTEND A MEETING WITH ALL THE PARTIES (THOUGH IT IS NOT CLEAR THAT MUGABE HAS ENTIRELY ABANDONED HIS OBJECTIONS TO CHIRAU'S PRESENCE.)

3. MUGABE'S REMARKS TO THE PRESS SATURDAY NIGHT DEMANDING PF DOMINANCE OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL AND POLICE, ADVOCATING A ONE PARTY MARXIST STATE IN RHODESIA AND REPEATING HIS INSISTENCE THAT SMITH BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL WERE CERTAINLY PROVOCATIVE.

4. ONE CAN SPECULATE THAT MUGABE'S TOUGH POSITION WAS CONNECTED TO HIS INTERNAL PROBLEMS AND THE STRANGE ABSENCE OF THE MILITARY COMMANDER, TONGOGARA, FROM HIS DELEGATION. NKOMO SEEMED CAUGHT BETWEEN MUGABE AND US. HE TRIES TO SMOOTH OVER THE AMNESTY ISSUE AND SEEMED TO BE MORE INTERESTED THAN MUGABE IN HOLDING THE WAY OPEN TO FURTHER CONVERSATIONS.

5. NEVERTHELESS WE BELIEVE THE POINT SHOULD BE MADE TO THE FRONT LINE AND NIGERIA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND BEFORE THEY MOVE, AS IS LIKELY, TO DEFEND THE PF'S POSITION, THAT WE ARE DISAPPOINTED AT THE CONTINUING FAILURE OF
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THE PF TO ACCEPT THE ESSENTIALS OF OUR PROPOSALS. MOREOVER, WE BELIEVE THAT ITS REFUSAL TO HONOR COMMITMENTS GIVEN US IN A NUMBER OF CAPITALS PUBLICLY TO ATTEND A "ALL PARTIES MEETING," AND TO ACCEPT THE ESSENTIALS OF THE AAP, ARE INHIBITING FURTHER PROGRESS TO SETTLEMENT OF THE RHODESIA PROBLEM.

6. THE PF'S STATED POSITION IS CERTAIN TO MAKE IT HARDER FOR US TO FIND SUPPORT AT HOME FOR OUR EFFORTS TO PURSUE THE AAP AND TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER IN ORDER TO AVOID MAJOR MILITARY CONFRONTATION.

7. YOU ARE THEREFORE INSTRUCTED TO RAISE THIS MATTER AT THE HIGHEST APPROPRIATE LEVELS WITH YOUR HOST GOVERNMENT DRAWING UPON THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS:
---WE ARE FRANKLY DISAPPOINTED BY OUR INABILITY TO MAKE MORE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN DAR, IN SPITE OF PREVIOUS ASSURANCES. THE PF MAINTAINS ITS INSISTENCE ON DOMINATING THE TRANSITION-PERIOD GOVERNMENT THROUGH BOTH THE GOVERNING COUNCIL AND INTERNAL SECURITY APPARATUS, AND CONTINUES TO REFUSE TO ACCEPT THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER SHOULD EXERCISE EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY, ON IMPORTANT AREAS SUCH AS FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION.

-- THE TONE AND SUBSTANCE OF PUBLIC COMMENTS BY PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS IS CERTAIN TO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR US AND THE BRITISH TO GAIN DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL.

-- WE ARE ALSO DISAPPOINTED BY THE PF'S PLACING CONDITIONS ON THE COMMITMENTS-- WHICH WE UNDERSTOOD WERE FIRM-- THAT IF WE AGREED TO MALTA II CONFERENCE, THE PF WOULD PUBLICLY ACCEPT TO ATTEND AN "ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE." WE ARE CONCERNED THAT WHEN COMMITMENTS ARE NOT HONORED THE PATH TOWARDS FURTHER PROGRESS IS COMPLICATED.

-- WE HAD AGREED TO THE FORMULA OF BASING THE INDEPENDENCE ARMY ON THE LIBERATION FORCES ON THE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT LAW AND ORDER WOULD BE MAINTAINED BY THE EXISTING POLICE FORCE, WITH A CHANGE

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OF ITS CHIEF AND A UN LIAISON FORCE. TO REORGANIZE THE POLICE FORCE FUNDAMENTALLY WHILE A NEW ARMY WAS BEING CREATED WOULD FORCE US TO RELY CHIEFLY ON THE UN MILITARY FORCE TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER, WHICH

IS ITSELF IMPRACTICAL AS WELL AS CONTRARY TO UNDERSTANDINGS UNDERTAKEN

(FOR DAR: NYERERE TOLD OWEN HE HAD BEEN PERSUADED BY VANCE AND OWEN AND AGREED WE SHOULD STICK TO OUR INSISTENCE ON MAINTAINING THE EXISTING POLICE.)

-- IT IS APPARENT WE CAN ONLY SUCCEED IN FINDING A SETTLEMENT TO THIS DIFFICULT PROBLEM IF THE PARTIES ACCEPT OUR GOOD FAITH AND DESIRE OUR ASSISTANCE. WE MUST MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT INTEND AND COULD NOT DEFEND AT HOME BEING MADE THE INSTRUMENT OF THE PF'S DESIRE TO GAIN THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS WHAT IT HAD NOT WON ON THE BATTLEFIELD. MAINTENANCE OF OUR POSITION OF NEUTRALITY AMONG THE PARTIES IS ESSENTIAL TO THE INTEGRITY OF THE AAP.

--FOR OUR PART, WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE AAP. IT IS OUR POSITION. BUT THE PARTIES MUST SHOW FLEXIBILITY IN RELATION TO THE INVOLVEMENT HOST GOVERNMENT HAD IN COMMITMENTS UNDERTAKEN AT LAGOS, AND OTHER CAPITALS.

9. THE BRITISH ARE AWARE OF THIS INSTRUCTION AND AGREE WITH IT. LONDON SHOULD PASS A COPY TO GRAHAM. ADDRESSEES SHOULD INFORM THEIR UK COUNTERPARTS OF THE DEMARCHE AND ITS RESULTS, SHARING THE TEXTS AS APPROPRIATE.
VANCE

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